F.O.R. Fellowship

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Shall Love Be Born?

Shall Love be born? Then how? For I have spurned
the infinite shape of love my livelong day,
the simple tenderness, the child's face turned
in helpless wish toward mine. What shall I say,
who have scorned love, to Love? For love must wear
a crown, I said, and like a god bend down
to crown me as his bride, and call me fair;
must give me jewels to pin into my gown.
Love came to me and wore the shape of man
and yet I knew him not. I saw him bleed
and cried against his wounds. In fear I ran
to arm my heart against love's mortal need.
I cried on all love's power to succor me,
then saw Love was my fallen enemy.

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PEGGY POND CHURCH

DECEMBER, season of good cheer and giving for many, of a sober rethinking and rededication for some, is here again. The crisp snow is in the air, the church-bell carols through the night, and the ever-meaningful symbol of the Babe is in our hearts. . . . Caleb Foote takes us back to ancient Rome—not exactly the time of Jesus, but in times when his teachings were still having repercussions—in a fable of considerable significance, if looked at in the right way! . . . Margery Mayer, an FOR member who is in Japan, sends a Letter from Tokyo which exemplifies what we are striving for. . . . John M. Swomley, Jr., the watchdog of Washington, takes FELLOWSHIP's readers down there for a good hard look at what is probably the most powerful pressure group in the country, the Army Engineers . . . and the FOR staff at 2929 (about to be removed to 21 Audubon Avenue, by the way—see news item), takes the members and friends of the Fellowship behind the scenes with the people who do the *real* work around here—the office force.

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Cynic

We found ourselves cornered the other day by a dismayed reader who wanted to Have A Serious Talk about what he called the "spirit" of Subheads. Beginning with an admission that he enjoys reading these paragraphs, he confessed to a fear that his enjoyment was on a baser level than it should be, and represented a most unpacifist and cynical desire to feel superior to militarists, professional patriots and unbelievers generally. To purge himself of such unworthy feelings, he wondered earnestly if it might not be well to discontinue this department.

Our own feeling is that the reader misplaced the seat of his trouble, which is more likely to be found within him than in a few printed pages. If he enjoys something that makes him feel superior to nonpacifists, he reveals himself as feeling separate from nonpacifists—a different breed of cat, somehow, and we doubt that such a feeling is itself especially pacifist.

This department does not feel essentially different from its nonpacifist friends and neighbors, many of whom are equally unhappy about things and are following with equal earnestness some form of faith or action that they hope will bring them, and us, into the promised land. Nor is there any special enjoyment in writing of the hypocrisies and inconsistencies of government officials and militarists and all the other potentates who tithe the mint and anise and cummin but leave weightier matters undone.

But pacifist Americans are not only pacifists, dealing in a spirit of love and reconciliation (it is hoped) with those who have injured or offended them. They are also Americans, responsible parts of a body politic that has intimate and important relationships with other bodies politic around the world. The threats of the government therefore are *their* threats, the posturing and parading of the

military *their* posturing and parading, the hypocrisy and cant of selfish individuals and interests *their* hypocrisy and cant.

It is a good thing for a man to forgive his enemies; but it is a very bad thing for a man or a nation to forgive itself. Because pacifist Americans seem to be almost as susceptible as most other Americans to the temptation to believe the best of themselves and their proxies, it seems like a good idea to demonstrate occasionally that the British and Russians and Germans and Iranians have no monopoly on insincerity and dissembling. Evil is not to be exorcised by the pretense that it does not exist.

Frinstance

Gen. Jacob L. Devers, recently retired chief of the Army field forces, told 1,500 transit executives that this is "an age in which the ability to strike first, and swiftly, may mean the difference between a country which lives and a country paralyzed and destroyed." The "ability to strike first" means the ability to pulverize hundreds of thousands of homes somewhere with atomic or fire bombs, massacring the millions of human beings inside them, as well as the ability to spread disease germs and poison among the lovers and parents and playing children over thousands of square miles.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, told a Congressional committee that a "unified America" could "lick the world." Licking the world has about the same connotations as striking first, and presumably sounds just as ominous to the Russians and Hungarians and Chinese and Fiji Islanders.

Gen. Lucius Clay, who has bee running Germany for all us pacifi and nonpacifist Americans, de scribes the United States' postwa actions in these words: "In ou simple faith, believing that othe would do likewise, we disbande our armed might and plunged int the task of economic reconstruc tion."

Rebels

Right there between the endin of the two pennant races and th beginning of the World Series, the had to go and arrest A. J. Mus and throw him in the bing dow in Washington, capital of the lan of the free. Muste, who is one of th leaders of an international ant war crowd, had the effrontery t lead some of his cohorts into th embassy of a friendly nation an sit there. The five sitters and seve pickets outside, including the no torious Bayard Rustin and Georg Houser, said they were expressin solidarity with self-styled "worl citizen" Garry Davis, who was c trial the same day in a Frenc court for expressing *his* solidarit with an imprisoned French con scientious objector.

The thing created a minor inter national crisis of very short dura tion. The French phoned the Sta Department and the State Depar ment phoned the cops and the cop shocked at such discourtesy to th French Republic, escorted Must and his men out to a waitin paddy-wagon and off to the loc bastille.

Fortunately the whole thing wa pretty much ignored by the pres although there were plenty of re porters and photographers presen

at the scene, and the newspaper-reading public was not disturbed in its rapt contemplation of the relative merits of Allie Reynolds and Don Newcombe, who were slated to "go" the next day.

Still, the thing has disturbing implications. When you have an expatriate American resisting a French government's actions in regard to a French citizen, and then American citizens taking their stand beside *him* (and, they say, some Britishers doing the same thing over there), loyal nationalists of every kind had better look out. First thing you know, people will begin to take this world citizenship business in earnest!

Passport

Speaking of world citizens, it is interesting also to note what happened to Miss Virginia Faith Davis. Miss Davis, who sympathizes with her brother Garry but still carries her own U. S. passport, took with her on a recent European trip an "international identity card" issued by Garry and identifying the bearer as a "world citizen."

Miss Davis reports that her card was accepted without question by border guards in France, Italy and Germany, while in Czechoslovakia and the American and Soviet zones of Germany guards stamped the card as a courtesy measure, though demanding her U. S. passport as well.

Just for a lark, though, Miss Davis tried the card on American immigration authorities when she landed at Idlewild Airport on Long Island.

"World citizen, huh?" said the inspector. "We don't believe in that."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The mayor of Hiroshima is reported by the United Press to have said that the peace of the world now rests on the ability of the United States to produce more and bigger atomic bombs.

* * *

Klamath Falls, Oregon, set aside a special section of the municipal cemetery for "burial of those of non-Caucasian race" when a Negro war veteran's body was brought for burial.

* * *

A recent Gallup Poll reveals that 45 percent of the American people believe in limiting freedom of speech.

* * *

The president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution has announced that her organization will oppose with all vigor any form of world federation.

* * *

The National Go-to-church Campaign sponsored an "Our America" program at the Hollywood Bowl attended by 10,500 persons, which had movie stars as "entertainers," an invocation by chaplains from the armed forces, and an address by the Lieutenant Governor of California, who said that the issue of the day is whether the godless or the God-fearing shall govern the world.

* * *

Celebration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of a gun factory in Washington recently featured five pretty girls in the role of "Miss Naval Gun Factory" and attendants.

"Only the Stubborn and Mulish . . ."

By CALEB FOOTE

Executive Secretary, Central Committee for COs

Last May the Attorney General, seeking to deal with the thorny problem of conscientious objectors who will not even register at all for military conscription, issued an order to stop prosecutions of these violators "except in the most willful instances." The order provided that if a nonregistrant, who on grounds of conscience had refused to go to his draft board, would now appear before a United States District Attorney and "furnish the information necessary to complete such registration," no prosecution or imprisonment would ensue. Recently this order was informally interpreted by an Assistant Attorney General as meaning a nonregistrant who was "cooperative" would escape prosecution, but "if he acts like a mule, then he is going to the penitentiary."

We asked Mr. Foote to interpret and explain this order for us, for we knew that from frequent consultation with government officials he would be in a position to help us distinguish the "most willful" conscientious objectors from their more cooperative brethren. Mr. Foote declined, but thought we might be interested in an interview he had had some time previously, regarding another obstinate minority group that was having its difficulties with the state.

—THE EDITOR

THE SECRETARY LOOKED UP questioningly.

"My name is Foote," I mumbled, "and I have an appointment to see the Emperor."

"Oh yes, Mr. Foote." She shuffled through a pile of papers. "We've been expecting you. Let's see, you represent the Greater Roman Federation for the Humane Treatment of Those Peculiar People Called Kuh . . . "

"Christians," I said, "C-H-R-I-S-T-I-A-N-S."

"You mean those dangerous revolutionaries they throw to the lions?" She lowered her voice. "Are *you* a Christian?"

"No," I said.

"I'm glad of that!" she smiled. "I'd hate to see a lion consuming *you* when I go to the Coliseum tomorrow! My boy friend's taking me, and he says they have 27 of them and can't find enough lions."

She motioned me to a seat along the wall of the large room, and went back to her work. I wondered if all the people around me were also waiting to see the Emperor; if so, I'd be lucky to get in before midnight. But the secretary soon called me again and set my mind at rest.

"The Emperor's terribly busy and you'll have to wait," she said, "but you'll get in. We've alerted subconsul Maximillius to stand by. He's the head of our Division of Un-Roman Activities and Criminal Espionage, and will sit in on your interview with the Emperor."

I thanked her and started back to my seat, but she stopped me.

"Tell me," she said, "why do these Christians want to be thrown to the lions?"

"I don't think they really *want* to," I said, "but they feel they can't renounce their Christian religion."

She tossed her pretty head impatiently.

"What does religion have to do with it? All they have to do is to prove their loyalty to the Emperor, just like everyone else."

"They are not disloyal," I said, "but they feel they owe their first allegiance to their God, and—"

"Well, if they don't care enough about living to be willing to pick up a little incense and drop it on Caesar's statue, I'm not going to waste any sympathy on them!"

It seemed fruitless to pursue the matter further, and I resumed my seat. Anyway, she was only a secretary; I was after bigger fish . . . like Maximillius. I was much interested to learn that I would meet him. Naturally you heard a lot of subdued criticism of him—nobody really likes a policeman—but one had to recognize that he was the most liberal administrator of the Un-Roman Activities Division to date. It had been his humanitarian decree that lions henceforth were to be starved for only two days before being let into the arena, instead of three as heretofore, and he who had been responsible for the decision that Christians should go into the arena without distinction as to sex or race, thereby striking a great blow against the forces of reaction and discrimination. And at this very moment, it was Maximillius who was propagating another great reform, by which lions would have two thirds of their teeth extracted before being loosed upon the criminals. I looked forward to meeting Maximillius.

A short while later I was ushered into another room and introduced to the subconsul. Maximillius greeted me warmly.

"I'm very glad you have come, Mr. Foote. The Emperor is deeply concerned about this problem. We know that these Christians are not ordinary criminals. If only they would use a little common sense! But I can assure you that you will find the Emperor a sympathetic and concerned listener, and that all of us are as eager as you to reach a solution."

This was indeed encouraging. I knew that the Emperor was a liberal, but to find that the highest police official also felt this way was more than I had dared hope for. As we waited, Maximillius helped me to understand some of the administrative problems which arise in a great empire over questions like this.

"This Christian business is not as simple as it seems on the surface," he explained. "Probably you think that all we have to do is to issue a decree and there it is. But the Roman Empire is a complicated piece of administrative machinery. We have to look at these problems from every conceivable point of view. We even have to consider the protection of the Christians themselves. Did it ever occur to you that if we excepted the Christians from our laws, the gen-

eral populace might be so enraged that they would rise in a body and wipe out the Christians and heaven knows who all else, in a mad orgy of mob rule?"

I confessed that this had not occurred to me, and thought to myself that as the Christians were now being wiped out by the lions, the point was rather an academic one.

"This is not really a question of religion at all," he went on. "We don't interfere with religion. Unfortunately a lot of economic questions are at stake, like the way the Christians admit slaves to membership. We can't have that."

I started to protest, but Maximillius raised his hand.

"I know what you are going to say—that the Christians teach that slaves should be happy and contented with their station in life. But to admit them to equal membership is still a first step to rebellion. It is a provocative act that we cannot tolerate."

All my optimism vanished, and Maximillius saw that he had dashed my hopes. He slapped me on the back jovially.

"Come, don't fret, brother Foote. With a little reasonable cooperation all around, we'll find a way out. After all, *we* have to do something about this. So many Christians are being apprehended these days that we've run into a serious lion shortage. Just this morning I had to send out an urgent order to our commander in Addis Ababa for 1000 lions. You can't keep feeding Christians to the same lions without ruining their health. Gives them a skin disease and their hair drops off. Seems like Christians are just as bad fodder for the lions as they are for the State."

Maximillius' hearty joking was interrupted by the appearance of a page who announced that the Emperor would receive us.

I had seen Marcus Aurelius before, but only from a distance. He turned out to be every inch the Emperor, and I knew I was in the presence of a man who had achieved great station in life without making the usual sacrifices required for fame. Justice and wisdom and humility looked out from his eyes. He glanced up from the small book in which he had been writing as we came in and smiled.

"Well?" he asked.

I put the Christian question to him bluntly and without adornment, for it was obvious that here was a man who wanted to get to the heart of the matter. He appreciated my directness, and replied in the same vein.

"We see eye to eye on this, Mr. Foote," he said. "We know most of these Christians are fine and honest people, and their sincerity is self-evident. That is why their insistence upon martyrdom is so painful to us. As a matter of fact, your coming here today is a coincidence, for we are at this moment preparing to issue an Imperial Decree which we are confident will solve the problem."

"I am glad to hear that," I said, "for while of course I am not a Christian myself, I cannot help but respect their cheerful courage in the face of suffering. After all, they are but a small minority, and this mighty empire can afford to be charitable. If only this little matter of a pinch of incense could be resolved, I am confident that the other problems they present could be adjusted."

"I agree with you," said the Emperor. "Most of the problems are small. But this question of putting

incense on Caesar's statue affects the very foundations of our way of life. It has nothing to do with religion, for it constitutes no more than a loyalty oath to the Empire. Religion depends for its existence upon the maintenance of law and order. The Christian denies us the loyalty that is the very lifeblood of our empire, yet he accepts our protection and our services, without which he could not exist. What do the Christians think would happen to them if the barbarians were to overrun us?"

"The Christian is loyal to your excellency," I insisted, "but he is adamant on this one point. Cannot an exception be made?"

"Have one law for Christians, and another for everyone else? Would the Christians themselves want such a violation of equality in the administration of justice? No, whatever adjustments are made must be made within the law. The Christian is not above the law."

"This whole question presents us with a delicate legal tangle," Maximillius explained, "and we have explored it exhaustively. While we cannot make an exception for the Christian, we are willing to lean over backwards in the administration of the law."

"I'm afraid I don't follow you," I said. "You say the Christian must go through the incense rite, and he says he can't. There would seem to be no middle ground."

"There is always a middle ground," said the Emperor, "where religion is seasoned with a little common sense. We respect religion—we have many gods ourselves. But the supposed claims of religion are not above the law."

"Then what is to be done?" I asked hopelessly. "The Christian won't drop that incense."

"He won't have to!" said Maximillius enthusiastically. "That's the beauty of law; it can adjust to necessity. Under our new decree, all the Christian has to do is to *pick up the incense*. He does not have to *drop* it. We will take care of that! It will be completely involuntary on the Christian's part, yet the incense will end up upon the altar. It's really beautiful—the law is respected, and so is the Christian conscience!"

I remarked timidly that I was afraid not all Christians would do that. In fact, I was afraid many would regard it as a subterfuge. But the Emperor cut me short.

"I think we understand one another, and I am sure you see our willingness to stretch the law to its breaking-point. I am told the Christians have a teaching about going the second mile. We are only asking them to go the first inch."

"They also have a teaching about being obedient to them that are your masters," Maximillius added.

"Exactly," said Marcus Aurelius. "They recognize the necessity of the supremacy of the state, that no one can be permitted to flout the laws. I am sure our generosity and our appeal to reason will bring them to their senses. Thank you for coming, and tell our Christian friends that if they will but give us a nod of their head, we will do the rest."

* * *

The next afternoon I was crossing the Via Appia on my way to the baths when I heard my name. It was the Emperor's secretary, looking even prettier than the day before, and with a husky youth in tow.

"Oh, Mr. Foote!" she called. "I'm

so glad I saw you. I have good news for you! The Emperor has just issued a decree about the Christians. They won't be thrown to the lions any more."

"Really?" I said.

"I'm glad for you, but it rather spoils our fun," she pouted. "We were on our way to the Coliseum, but now I suppose there'll be no show, and no food for the poor lions."

"Do you mean that all the Christians are saved?" I asked.

"All of them!" she replied emphatically, "—unless they're completely obstinate and determined to kill themselves. I have a copy of the decree with me." She handed the roll of parchment to me.

"There you are, look at it for yourself."

I unrolled the paper and read it quickly. The usual generalities filled most of the page, but near the end I came to bedrock:

> ". . . therefore in all pending delinquencies involving persons who call themselves Christians, it is hereby decreed that the requirements of the loyalty oath shall be deemed to have been met provided the delinquent shall voluntarily appear at the proper place and time and take up the required pinch of incense, holding same over Caesar's image. Imperial agents are hereby authorised to remove forcibly from delinquent's fingers the incense which he is holding, and deposit same at designated destination. Imperial agents are further encouraged to inflict minor bodily harm upon all delinquents claiming to be Christians, in carrying out this action, thereby compensating the so-called Christian for his thwarted desire for martyrdom.
>
> "It is expressly decreed that in the future no person claiming to be a Christian, who upon investigation proves to be sincere in cherishing and living up to that peculiar teaching, shall be lionated; exceptions are only to be made in the most willful instances of stubborn, mulish, uncooperative behavior, and. . . ."

At that moment a great cheer arose from the direction of the Coliseum. The Emperor's secretary's blue eyes flashed, and her shapely lips compressed into a hard, thin line.

"Those idiotic Christians!" she hissed. "*Now* don't try to tell me that they don't want to be chewed alive! I'd like to sink my teeth into one of them myself! And after the Emperor has done so much for them!"

She grabbed her companion by the arm. "Quick, Antony, we'll miss half the fun." Seizing the paper from my hands, she ran towards the Coliseum. The deafening crescendo of cheers had now drowned out the excited roaring of the lions and rolled from hill to hill through the hot afternoon air.

Creed

I cannot prove;
I do not know;
But I believe.

My life I stake
His way to take,
Earth's way to leave.

MARGARET C. MCCULLOCH

THE MOST POWERFUL PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON, WITH OVER A BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR, ARE

The Wealthy Engineers

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

THE ARMY ENGINEERS CORPS is the most powerful lobbying and pressure group in Washington. Rules Committee Chairman Adolph J. Sabath calls it the "most vicious lobby on Capitol Hill."

It is also one of the chief agents in the process of militarization that is taking place in the nation today.

There are three reasons for its tremendous power.

The first is economic. In 1949 more than $573 million was spent on 277 projects in 49 states and Alaska. These projects, which are described as civil projects, are in addition to the $505 million the Army Engineers were appropriated for military purposes. Almost every member of Congress is interested in at least one of the projects for which the Engineers are disbursing money in Congressional districts back home. The New York area, for example, got $55 million in 1949 for the building of five new veterans hospitals, military construction, and improvements of harbors and waterways.

In the second place, the people who profit from the Army Engineers' money have organized the Natural Rivers and Harbors Congress, which serves as the unofficial sponsor and protector of the Engineers. Its membership includes contractors, supply houses, manufacturers, civic organizations and other groups that benefit from engineering projects.

So influential are these "friends" of the Engineers when it comes to legislation affecting the Corps that the Democratic Leader of the House, Rep. John McCormack, declared: "They are putting the Army Engineers in a position of being more powerful than Congress, more powerful than the President. . . . "

Both President Roosevelt and President Truman have suffered defeats at the hands of the Engineers Corps. In 1940 President Roosevelt told the Secretary of War he wanted the Kings River project in California built by the Department of Interior. The Engineers went to Congress and defeated the President. In 1941 when F.D.R. ordered the Engineers to work with the Bureau of the Budget which had rejected 76 out of 436 of the Engineers' proposed projects, the Chief of Engineers simply submitted the 76 projects to Congress and got 62 of them authorized.

The Army Engineers are one of the big reasons President Truman isn't getting a Missouri Valley Authority like the TVA. A civilian engineer, Arthur Morgan, who as the first head of TVA, said: "If a Missouri Valley Authority should be formed and placed under civilian control, the power of the Army

would be reduced. Every Army officer whose opinion has come to my notice opposes the creation of the Authority and favors an alternative program which would extend Army power."

Publicity and Propaganda

The third reason for the power of the Engineers' Corps is its effective publicity and propaganda program. Here is an illustration. In January, 1949, when much of the West, especially Nebraska and Wyoming, was hit by heavy snowstorms, the Army Engineers were asked for aid. General Lewis A. Pick, then in charge of the Omaha District, refused to help because no funds were allocated for this purpose and because he had no authorization to act. Civilian agencies like the Agriculture Department's Forest Service, and the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management, which likewise had no funds or authorization, nevertheless proceeded with rescue work. For almost a month before the Army showed up, civilian agencies of government battled the snow side-by-side with state and county road workers, truckers, ranchers, railroad and utility people, without rest and without publicity.

When the Army Engineers decided to help, they came with full publicity. A *Denver Post* reporter in describing what the Army colorfully called "Operation Snowbound," wrote that the Army "seemed also to have had a pressman and a photographer riding on every 'dozer, recording every haydrop and noting every patch cleared to the ranch barn."

The Secretary of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, who served as Chairman of the Wyoming Relief Committee during the storm emergency, accused the Army Engineers of "capitalizing on a great disaster to glorify themselves." He pointed out that in the first conference the Army Engineers had with Governor Crane and his committee, General Wheeler brought, in a plane from Washington, "a news release man" and a "photographer and an assistant photographer." He described other conferences with generals, "all of whom had photographers' assistants with them. In addition to that the Army and Air Corps had news hounds and photographers out in the field." And "there were several uniformed publicity men" who kept calling at his office for stories. He concluded his comments on the Engineers with this statement: "One characteristic of these news releases is the fact that they did not give credit to anyone else."

The power of the Army Engineers Corps is derived wholly from its spending, its publicity, and the effective support of those who benefit from its projects. The Corps does not win friends and influence people because of its code of ethics or engineering effectiveness. It has been justifiably accused of deception, boondoggling, and bad engineering by various individuals and groups.

A former governor of Wyoming, Leslie A. Miller, who served as chairman of the Hoover Commission's Natural Resources Committee, said the Engineers "stoop to deception in furtherance of their claims to a project." For example, they "will use navigation and flood control as a guise for a hydroelectric project." He added that they underestimate, "apparently deliber-

ately, the cost of the projects they propose to build." After they get Congress to agree to proposed projects they start the work and come back with a request for a supplemental appropriation to finish it.

In Missouri the Army Engineers had plans for four large dams which would have cost a fortune. But state officials and civilian engineers discovered after a careful study that the Army program would jeopardize natural resources and the scenic Ozarks. State officials then worked out a program involving nine smaller dams which would inundate 125,000 fewer acres of land than the Army's program, save other natural resources including coal, and provide more dependable flood protection.

In Southern Colorado the Army Engineers' huge John Martin dam on the Arkansas River, designed to end floods and provide irrigation water, was dedicated about the first of April, 1949. On June 6 the floods caused crop damage that the *Denver Post* estimated at $4,000,000. "Damage resulting from ruin of once-fertile farmlands by silt was unestimated," said the National Farmers Union. Hundreds of people were made homeless in three communities. Irrigation engineers said the silt in the water flowing over the dam built a delta that diverted the flood over the farmlands and neighboring towns. The Army's comment on this was that if true it would dredge the channel, thus providing, in the words of a Farmers Union weekly, "another perpetual boondoggle for some contractor friends of the Army Engineers—the Typhoid Marys of floods."

Because of the economic waste of the Engineers' Corps, the frequent and bitter competition over projects between the Army Engineers and the Department of Interior's Reclamation Bureau, and the wisdom of having non-military projects supervised by one civilian agency, the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branches of Government made the following recommendation:

> That the Corps of Engineers be stripped of its civil river, harbor, and flood control work, and that a consolidated Bureau of Water Development and Use within the Department of Interior take over these functions as well as other similar functions now administered by some other agencies.

Oppose Recommendation

The Army Engineers swung into action as soon as they thought they knew what the Hoover Commission might recommend. Herbert Hoover revealed that "one Senator alone received 2,000 telegrams of protest on the suspicion that we might suggest . . . transferring the flood control and river and harbor construction from the War Department."

The Army Engineers approached various groups in their effort to oppose the Hoover Commission proposal. At least one Chamber of Commerce in a large city was reported to have been visited by the district engineer of the Army asking that it oppose the proposal.

A two-page release "distributed in large numbers to and by employees of the San Francisco District, Corps of Engineers" in January and February 1949, which was "typed on government paper, on government time, on government machines and in a government office," called upon people to send telegrams to Senators. In revealing

this illegal activity on the part of the Army, Senator H. C. Lodge quoted from the telegram which the Army Engineers were recommending: "Strongly urge you specifically exempt Civil Works Activity of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army from being affected by any plan to reorganize the Executive Branch of the Federal Government."

Three Major Points

The employees of the Army Engineers' San Francisco office to whom the release was distributed were encouraged to get after Congress and were told they "would lose their jobs" if the Hoover Commission proposal was not defeated.

The propaganda against the Hoover Commission proposal that was circulated by the Army Engineers and their friends had three major emphases:

1. That any other engineering agency would be "inexperienced and less competent" and would "disrupt the entire national program" of river development.
2. That Army Engineers' officers and soldiers gain valuable experience and training for engineering projects they must perform in war.
3. That putting all civil construction under one department would "give the head of that department almost dictatorial power over the economic life of our nation."

It is absurd to say that the Army alone can direct the river and harbor work "when it is realized that less than two hundred Army engineers are involved," whereas some 3,000 civilian engineers are the ones who do the work. The Hoover Commission subcommittee on Natural Resources further pointed out that it is the "civilians who supply most of the detailed knowledge and continuing direction" of the projects. The subcommittee added that "any Army Engineers who can be spared from military duties" and who are essential to any particular projects could be detailed to the Department of Interior.

The fallacy of the Army's arguments is further seen in the fact that the Army drafted or enlisted experienced civilian engineers during the last war and would try to do so again. Mere work on civil projects under the administration of the Army doesn't make an engineer any more fitted for wartime work than if he had worked on the same project under a civilian department of government, though it may make him more likely to obey orders.

As for the claim that a civilian agency in charge of all civil government construction would have dictatorial power, the fact is the Army Engineers have such power now and are using it. The technique which the Army claims might be used by a civilian agency is actually being used by the Army today. The following description of this technique is in the words of Lt. Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler, former Chief of Army Engineers: "There will likely be some construction in every state and in practically every Congressional district. If an attempt is made to eliminate certain projects, the word can easily be passed down the line to enlist the support of local governing bodies, chambers of commerce, and civil organizations, and local affected business interests and institutions to write or

wire their Senators or Congressmen urging them to vote for the approval of the whole program for fear their own pet project might be eliminated from an appropriation bill."

The Army Engineers were almost successful in persuading Congress to exempt them from any reorganization plan. The Senate Committee on Executive Expenditures which considered the problem, had as its chairman Senator John J. McClellan of Arkansas, who is also the head of the Army Engineers' unofficial sponsoring organization, the Natural Rivers and Harbors Congress. By a close 5 to 4 vote the Committee refused to accept McClellan's proposal to exempt the Army Engineers. In so doing it stated that no one group should receive such special consideration.

The real fight, however, is still ahead. Although the Army Engineers are not automatically exempted from any reorganization, Congress has yet to be confronted with a Presidential recommendation putting the civil functions of the Engineer Corps under the Department of Interior.

Power of Money

Within the next twenty years it is estimated that at least forty billion dollars will be spent in the development and control of natural resources. Any military agency with half or all of that money, in addition to its regular military budget, would be powerful indeed.

Thus, if the President and Congress do give the civil functions of the Army Engineers to a civilian agency, it will be a major blow against military control of the nation's economy.

Midnight Train to Tokyo

(The following is an excerpt from a letter written, with no thought of publication, by an FOR member in Japan.)

AT TEN O'CLOCK in the evening of August 22, six boys, three American and three Japanese, got on the train with Sally and me to come to Tokyo—an eight-hour ride from Nojiri. The train was jammed, so that we could barely step onto the car platform. We tried to sit on our suitcases, but at every stop peasants with packs and baskets crawled over us, so that it soon became easier to stand all the time. Occasionally during the night we were able to sit on the steps of the train and let the night air erase the smells of the car, where women and children lay in the aisles and on top of each other. Midnight train to Tokyo!!!

About midnight excitement stirred the car. A Japanese friend whispered to us that the police were coming through the train looking for black-market rice. People began shifting their baggage; I felt rather than saw a hand push a big bundle under my legs. Each of the Americans had the same thing occur, and we saw that our baggage had also accumulated some extra bundles around it. People

were putting their black-market rice near us, because as Americans we would not be inspected.

We looked at each other in indecision. Our Japanese Christian friends said that it was wrong, but that these people were starving, and that everyone had to play the black market in order to live. It was wrong for us to protect them in this way, but it was the old story of law opposed to humanity. We chose humanity.

As the night wore on, though this new experience gave us food for some serious thought and discussion, we became terribly tired. The temptation was great when at one stop police told our Japanese friends that the Americans might use a special compartment, but we refused. The slight sacrifice had its reward when Pete, one of the Japanese boys who had been with me at work camp looked at me with tears in his eyes and said, "You are truly Christian." He knew that we could have ridden in the special occupation car with all of the comforts of an American train; some missionaries choose to accept that privilege of the occupation. "I'm so glad I came with you," said Pete, "because we share this pain together."

I realized again that although we lacked the training to do good teaching or evangelizing, we might still make a great contribution by simply living and sharing with Japanese young people in the ordinary things of life, in a way that the older missionaries could not. Perhaps a night ride to Tokyo might make a greater contribution to a life than a year of professional teaching or Bible classes. And I see again, that missions must not become professional, but must be rather a living, and a sharing in the common things, as we try to do in the States. Perhaps we are mistaken to feel that we must teach and preach on the mission field. Perhaps our better service is merely to live at some ordinary job where we can influence by sharing the everyday lives of all our brothers.

Our night ride was the eve of my twenty-sixth birthday, and when we finally got to Yokohama and dragged ourselves home, we washed ourselves and our hair and went to bed for the day, and in the evening had a real good meal of all the things I hadn't had all summer, and then listened to the radio and talked in the evening.

MARGERY MAYER
Kwassui College
Nagasaki, Japan

"The older one grows, the deeper one thinks, the more vividly one sees, with a curiously comforting clarity, that nothing is worth while, nothing at all in the tiny moment called life, except goodness—just being good. Life is a flicker, a taper blown out before we can turn 'round; there is no time in it for anything but the doing of good, for the great and final joy of being kind."

—From *Life Victorious*, by JOSEPH FORT NEWTON,
by permission of Fleming H. Revell

The FOR Staff Takes You

Behind the Scenes

CHARLES HORNIG

hears an old refrain

"Bills . . . Payroll . . . Budget . . ."

Charles Hornig is one of the newest acquisitions of the National Office, coming to be office manager last May. An ex-CPS and ex-prison man, he left a good job with a dairy in California (where milk and honey are said to be equally esteemed) just because he wanted to be doing something very directly for the pacifist movement. He's married (Florence came east at the same time to be A. J. Muste's secretary) and has two children.

OF ALL THE EXECUTIVE desks, this one might seem to be the most uninteresting. In fact it is, from the viewpoint of the general work of the organization and the various Secretaries.

The FOR, so unusual in its activities, contacts the hard, cruel business world at this point. Unconventional and outspoken in matters of religious pacifist propaganda and publication, we must be decidedly conventional and pragmatic when we approach the desk of the office manager. Bookkeeping must follow approved trends, bills must be paid, payrolls must be met, and detailed records kept.

Personally, I share the enthusiasm of our Secretaries and greatly envy their powers of speech and pen—it is not always easy to face the routine of office management and accounting. They are not thrilling matters to discuss at staff meetings, any more than financial appeals must be to members.

I see all the money come in, and all of it go out. The struggle to keep the former equalling the latter may account for a few choice ulcers.

My co-workers may question my sanity, in view of the quantity of aspirin that passes over this desk, when I say that I find a deep joy in my work—the satisfaction that comes from the knowledge that I

Fable

There is a fable—or if there isn't there ought to be—about a curious animal that had eleven heads and nothing else: no body, no arms, no legs, no hands, no feet. The result was just what you would expect. The animal could think and talk like everything, but since it couldn't do anything, it eventually withered away and blew off in a strong north wind.

Sometimes we suspect that readers of FELLOWSHIP must think the FOR is that kind of animal, overburdened with talking, thinking heads but short on hands and feet. So we decided that for a year-end report of what goes on at the National Office, we would ask some of the "office staff," from whom FOR members hear so often but about whom they know so little, to tell what a pacifist organization looks like when seen from the perspective of the working hands. The results, we think, show that the "hands" have heads, too.

am a cog in the mechanism of living, dynamic, militant religious pacifism. Nothing could be more satisfying to me in these days.

Sometimes there is great frustration: the desire, on one hand, to see the work of the Fellowship expand as it needs to and, on the other hand, the necessity of insisting on economies that mean curtailment of essential work. There is so much more that needs to be done, yet the lack of funds must fetter so many important activities.

MARJIE CARPENTER

tells how it feels to be

Amanuensis to a Dynamo

Marjie Carpenter, who is John Swomley's secretary, is something of a dynamo herself, but a much prettier one than her boss. Young (she's 25), blonde, with green eyes, she is definitely one of the more decorative aspects of peace work. Came to the FOR in 1944 straight from the University of Colorado, where a Swomley speech sold her on taking up pacifism as a "career." (One of her best memories is the winning, in high school days, of an American Legion medal and $50 for an essay on Selective Service, which she was all for then.)

THE AMERICAN magazine features each month a gallery of people with interesting and unusual vocations. *The American's* sympathies being what they are, I don't expect very soon to see a sketch of an FOR office secretary and her job—but it *is* unusual and it is interesting, and FELLOWSHIP turns the spotlight on some of us this issue. If we seem to blink, it is because the light we are accustomed to work by is less public—the same quiet light by which the rest of the FOR membership works, a simple conviction that "peace is our job." That this is more literally and directly true of some of us than others whose FOR work is not in "office hours," makes it even more satisfying to those of us who are privileged to work in the National Office.

Work with John Swomley has its own lightning-type of illumination. The fact that he is noted for prodigious amounts of work—speaking, research, writing, doing a great deal of the organizational work and correspondence with FOR groups and anticonscription committees across the country—would seem to be exhausting, except that he transmits his own enthusiasm for every project to his secretary as well. Deadlines for *Peace Notes* and *Conscription News*, manuscripts on militarization and conscription, minutes for conferences such as the three-day meeting on disarmament held with forty peace leaders, mailings to group-leaders, books full of dictation—all loom like crises as they stack up—but they *do* get done. Clippings pile up, but eventually get filed into an extensive working file of newspaper clippings on every subject. Magazines go unread for weeks, but material from them gets unearthed in time for use in an important manuscript.

Dividends come in with orders for *New Evidence of the Militarization of America* from educational, labor, and farm groups and hundreds of individuals; and with the knowledge that our research supplies them with facts to work against militarism and for peace. There is satisfaction also in a few lines of newspaper publicity in

connection with such releases; in seeing "the Boss" on a television broadcast making a sound case for disarmament, and simply in the day-to-day correspondence with people across the country.

Perhaps the wear and tear on secretaries is less in business houses and other offices, but the sense of dealing with the real and vital issues of war and peace is a challenge and a spur. We feel the hot breath of Time on our necks, but who doesn't, in this period where the real crisis—War—must be met and averted?

MISTI SMITH

tells about

The Machinery of Peace

Quiet, absorbed in his work, Misti Smith carries around with him experiences and interests not to be suspected by the casual acquaintance. A native Kentuckian, he has taught school there and in South America, drives an Indian motorcycle named Hiawatha, works in New York with a Spanish and a Russian church (in their own tongues), and periodically mimeographs and mails out Misti-ries, *a chatty and perceptive bulletin of the Smith activities and observations. A bachelor and an ex-CPS man, Misti is also an accomplished flutist (or flautist).*

KLACKETY-KLINK! Klinkety-bing! —and various other bangs and whacks. What is it? You are approaching the horrendous racket that used to drive H. F. Hancox to retire behind two tightly closed doors and cry peace! peace! when there is no peace; not in the hinder regions of the fourth floor, where peace literature is manufactured.

The mimeograph is comparatively innocuous, over there in its corner, but the folding machine can have three or four perturbed heads bent over it when it insists on folding in all the wrong places, or it can be rapidly sending to the madhouse anyone with sensitive, nonmechanical ears, when it *is* going right. And in the adjoining room the equally noisy Davidson Offset is rolling off the stuff to be folded —leaflets, folders, what-have-you —more than five thousand an hour, unless, of course, it is impishly engaging the operator in one of its bloody—pardon, inky—battles to the finish. Paper must be run through once for each color to be printed, and when the feeder is working properly, and the rollers are delivering ink in the exact amount, and the dampening solution is perfectly balanced, *and* the plate is made right, AND all adjustments are—skip it! Let's go over here and do something on the Elliott Addressing.

There is a thing of beauty—despite its outlandishly Buck Rogerish appearance—and a joy forever to a lover of machinery. Working with it one can regain enough of an appearance, at least, of sanity, to go back and tackle the Davidson once more. With the electric selector, and punches in the stencils, the Elliott will address, or will leave out, any category or categories the operator may desire. Maybe he wishes to run a tape, or address envelopes, to ministers who contributed in 1948 but haven't yet in 1949. He sets the selector and the machine goes methodically about the rest—if properly supervised. Of course the stencils must be made, contributions punched, addresses kept up to

date—life doesn't get monotonous, not around the peace machinery at the National Office.

RUTH STEENBURGH

finds herself

True to Type

With the Fellowship since 1942, Ruth Steenburgh is a walking demonstration of how young and pretty a "veteran" can be. Formerly a stalwart of the Rochester (N. Y.) FOR group, she worked with Al Hassler from 1942 till he went to prison in 1944, went upstairs to the fifth floor as Nevin Sayre's secretary until September, 1948, when she returned in the nick of time to pull Al out of a mound of work in which he was just about to go down for the third time. She sings in the choir of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, going to rehearsals faithfully (as she does everything else), and works on numerous committees of the New York FOR.

To MY WAY OF THINKING, the Literature Department is the most interesting spot on the National FOR globe. It has a "Figaro here, Figaro there" sort of environment that adds zest to each working day.

The number of pieces printed each year could be relegated to the astronomical, say hundreds of thousands, but not in the manner the government tosses figures around. The consistent good guessing by Al Hassler has kept our shelves free for current publications and dust, and of course the faithfulness of our membership in taking the materials off our hands for personal use and public distribution is always heartwarming.

At Christmas time the Literature Department's ego is inflated above all proportion to its usual place in the general work of the FOR, and for a time we have the feeling (and not unwarranted, I think) that we are the tail that wags the dog. Everybody pitches in, between other regular duties, and counts Christmas cards and envelopes, lays out orders and wraps books, neglects correspondence and any other jobs that can be ignored for the time being, and watches Charlie Hornig cutting down his aspirin consumption as the money comes rolling in. Last year we sold 60,000 Christmas cards, and we have faith enough to believe we can sell half again as many this year.

While these extra jobs and crises ruffle the even tenor of our days, FELLOWSHIP magazine claims our constant attention—six weeks in advance at that! Editor-in-Chief Al Hassler invites his able assistant, Connie Muste, (usually in a loud voice which carries well through the paper-like partitions separating us, one from the other) to come into his office for a conference on future issues. This is the signal for Naomi Huber and me to oil the typewriters and take our finger exercises so as to be in perfect condition for ripping off articles, news items, book reviews, poems, ads, *Subheads,* etc., in accordance with printing requirements. Each issue brings in a most interesting batch of "kick" and "pat" letters, which are carefully filed for future reference.

Above the clatter of typewriters and the scratching of editorial pencils, Carl Nocke and Jim Keller do a beautiful job of filling orders, lugging the mail to the post office on our diminutive two-wheeled truck, answering letters pertaining to literature, taking inventories

and keeping the bookroom in apple pie order.

Working in the peace movement is a happy experience greatly enhanced by perfect working companions and with never a dull moment in a carload. However, I owe my "young looks" to my parents!

CATHARINE RAYMOND

explains that

Race Is Our Business

Katie Raymond began her work for the Fellowship while she was a Salvation Army lassie in Chicago, where she spent lunch hours and evenings voluntarily lending a hand to the Chicago secretary, George Houser. Her work was so good that when George left Chicago to work for the national FOR, in 1944, he invited her to join him there. After a brief trial as Chicago secretary herself—"it was too much for me"—she accepted and has been here ever since. In addition to her FOR work, she is also secretary and treasurer of CORE.

THE WORK OF THE RACE RELATIONS department is for practical purposes divided into two general categories—the smaller one consisting of things that can be postponed, and the other of things that have to be done immediately. On my desk at the moment are a number of projects belonging to the second group.

One is a set of minutes from the last meeting of the planning committee for the conference on the Church and War to be held next May; another is a letter to the FOR group leaders; another is a dozen or fifteen letters of inquiry concerning almost as many phases of race relations, civil liberties, prison, labor, etc.; another is a mailing of the newsletter of the Congress of Racial Equality with a letter introducing it to new readers; another is an announcement of a meeting of the FOR Committee on the Church and Pacifism; another is a huge accumulation of filing. Of course there are a good many small jobs that are useful for filling in odd moments, such as typing of manuscripts, clearing out old card files, putting together scrapbooks, and so on. And naturally there is always the telephone to be answered. At the moment I am comparatively free, for there are no dictated letters to be transcribed, and I don't immediately have to work out any train schedules.

There is a fascination about the work of our department which for remarkably sustained periods of time satisfies the whole person, so that private life has a tendency to become absorbed in professional life. The results can be either good or bad, depending on one's point of view. (Maybe there's a little of both.) One who spends all his waking hours in allied areas becomes stale and narrow. On the other hand, life that is more than existence must be lived on a plane beyond and above the individual. The work in our department will take all that we can give. But I know that it gives back in satisfaction and excitement infinitely more than it takes.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Don't forget! After January 1, write to the FOR at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, New York.

News from the Peace Front

India Meeting of World Pacifist Delegates

This month in India a group of pacifists from countries and organizations throughout the world is meeting to discuss common problems. The first conference of its kind, it was planned by Gandhi two years ago, and postponed by him for a year because of the rioting in India. Before the next year came round, Gandhi himself was dead, and the meeting was again postponed. It is hoped by the group in India which organized it that the conference will give new impetus and direction to the Gandhian movement there; and it can be assumed that the same is true of the pacifist movements in other countries.

Among the representatives from this country will be A. J. Muste, Executive Secretary of the FOR; Nevin Sayre, International FOR Secretary (who has been traveling for the IFOR in the Orient since September); the Rev. George L. Paine of Boston, former Boston FOR Secretary; Ray Newton and Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee; Mrs. Alexander Knox of California and Grace Rhoads of New Jersey; Mildred Fahrni, Secretary of the Canadian FOR, and Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, friend and coworker of Gandhi and Tagore, who has been in the United States on leave from the University of Calcutta for several years. Representatives of the Brethren and Mennonites will also attend.

The conference will meet at Santiniketan, Tagore's school, for the first two weeks, then the group will break up and travel into different parts of India by twos and threes. They will come together again at Santiniketan for the final two weeks of the conference. Some of the subjects being taken up by the group are: Practical applications of pacifism and nonviolence in everyday life; Education for peace; Pacifism and imperialism, new and old; Race and color problems and their solution; Pacifist approach to world government; Planning for a world union of pacifists.

Brief Filed in Glendora Case by FOR

The Fellowship has filed an *amicus curiae* brief in the case of the Glendora CPS walkouts, who are appealing their case to the higher courts. The issues raised are those of 1) work without pay, 2) work under military direction and control, and 3) work not of national importance.

Contributions to the Fellowship of Reconciliation are deductible on your Federal Income Tax.

Church Erects Cross from Hiroshima

In a ceremony which took place on the third Sunday of November, the Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church in Los Angeles, of which Allan Hunter is the minister, installed in its sanctuary a cross made of wood from the city of Hiroshima in Japan. The wood was "brought in the arms of a girl from Hiroshima whose father was killed by the bomb (and she herself was hurt and for a while radioactive). The wood she brought is from Tanimoto's church. A famous sculptor artist has made it into a simple cross. The whole front of our church sanctuary has been rearranged to make room for the altar on which it will be placed. It will symbolize forgiveness: our desire to be forgiven by the Japanese for what we did to them on the assumption that they too want us to forgive them for what they did, on death marches, etc., to us so that together we may all on this earth experience the forgiveness from God of going in a new direction free from the poison of past resentments. A neighboring Japanese church gave our church $100 as a token of appreciation for keeping care of their building during the evacuation. That gift was the start of what will eventuate in the setting up of this cross of camphor wood. On the base will be the words, He Is Our Peace—the same words as those at the bottom of a picture of Jesus which Gandhi had in his room."

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Army Considers Renewed Inductions

Fear that Congress will fail to renew the draft act when it expires on June 24, 1950, unless the system is actually in operation, may lead the Army to resume inductions through Selective Service, according to many reporters and news commentators. Robert S. Allen, in the October 5 Washington *Post*, said that the military are "itching to make another try to put over universal training," as well. It seems obvious that they hope to make some kind of conscription the accepted thing in this country.

It was revealed that some Senators who are pro-conscription had a session with Army representatives to tell them that the draft act would probably die next June unless the Army anticipated an emergency, according to an AP dispatch of August 4. Readers will remember the intensification of the cold war and fear of Russia when the draft act was being debated in Congress, and the timely announcement by President Truman that Russia had the atom bomb just when arms aid to Europe was sticking in the Senate.

Garry Davis Amplifies Pacifist Stand

In an amplification of his original statement of pacifist conviction, issued in September when he protested the imprisonment of French CO Jean Moreau, Garry Davis repudiates his former willingness to serve as a pilot in an international police force to enforce world law. "Violence in any form produces only violence," the statement says. "It is not a way to meet problems of war, totalitarianism or injustice. It is, in fact, the breakdown of our ability to do so. . . . In our western civilization today we preach violence as a cure for violence even when talking in terms of brotherhood, world peace and world government, and consequently only become more sick and more criminally minded. The final result, should we continue this insanity, would seem to be our spiritual and physical death by the very violence we are trying to overcome."

In Los Angeles Glenn Smiley, Allan Hunter, Ray Kinney and Al Heist visited the French consul, taking with them a statement signed by prominent ministers and others in the Los Angeles vicinity, which urged the French government to drop the prosecutions of Davis and Moreau, and to enact a law recognizing the right of conscientious objection to war. "We were kindly received," reports Smiley, "the statement was read, the consul dictated a letter to his embassy in Washington, and we discussed the matter briefly. At the conclusion of the discussion the consul arose and walked around the end of the desk, and for the first time we were aware that his left leg was missing from the hip. Taking my hand in his, he said, 'Gentlemen, I lost my leg in the first World War, and was with General DeGaulle in Africa in the second World War. Anything that you can do for peace will please me immeasurably.' He then paused and rather wistfully said, 'In my heart I believe that I am ready to become a world citizen.' We all felt that at that moment he certainly was speaking from the Center."

Conscription Voted in New Zealand Referendum

The people of New Zealand, asked to express themselves, voted overwhelmingly in favor of military conscription, by a vote of 533,061 to 152,443. The campaign included radio debates, in which the time was divided evenly between pro and con forces, and was marked by the expenditure of government funds to pay for huge advertisements and to distribute leaflets in favor of conscription to every householder in the country.

The sweeping pro-conscription vote immediately prompted threats of harsher treatment of conscientious objectors, to whom New Zealand has been severe, in spite of a government that is liberal in many other ways, and of which some prominent officials are former pacifists. Edward Dowsett of the Society of Friends in New Zealand commented during the campaign: "Amongst the multitude of causes that lead to war there always figures an exaltation of the state as an entity, distinct from its citizens and claiming the right to extend its powers at the expense of individual members. Conscription is the system that crystallizes that philosophy."

Gara, Others Paroled, Two Face Jail

Larry Gara, former Bluffton College teacher and dean who received a sentence of 18 months in jail on the charge that he counseled Charles Rickert to refuse to register, was released on parole December 6, after serving a third of his term. His appeal was heard in the Circuit Court in October and his conviction upheld. The appeal is now being carried to the Supreme Court. Larry was denied bail while his appeal was pending by the judge who sentenced him, and a higher court to which the issue of bail was appealed refused to reverse that decision. Whether or not he wins in the Supreme Court, therefore, Larry will have already served his term.

While paroles for nonregistrant COs were coming through at last, two other young men are momently expecting to receive prison sentences for the same crime. The two facing prosecution are *Robert Michener,* whose 18th birthday fell on May 26th and who was indicted in September; and *Robert Wixom,* 25, recently married University of Illinois graduate student. In each case the attention of the authorities was called to the "automatic registration" ruling, but they refused to employ it. In Michener's case they held that refusal to register was in itself so "wilful" that prosecution was inevitable.

Paroles have been granted to: *Harvey Marshall, David Wyman, Russell Henderson, Herbert Standing, Leland Standing, Herbert Hoover, Henry Standing, Lawrence Tjossem, Roy Knight, Donald Mott, Donald Laughlin, Eston Rockwell,* and *Herbert Smith,* of the Iowa group of COs. *David Jensen* and *Arlo Tatum,* however, both of whom served prison sentences during the war, had their cases "continued," virtually the same as being denied; and *Harold Burnham,* who had been teaching at Scattergood School in Iowa, was denied parole outright, for no apparent reason.

Also released this fall, after completion of their 90-day terms, were *Rollin Pepper, Gerald Haynes, Stephen Simon, Francis Henderson, Charles Frantz, Richard Shufflebarger, William Wildman* and *Richard Graves* of the Indiana group, as well as *Amos Brokaw,* who received a four-month sentence in the same court.

Other recent parolees are *Harold Flakser, Sander Katz* and *William Young.*

FOR Member Refuses Oath, Loses Job

Linnea Woolf, former worker in the National Office now in Denver, lost her teaching job in Parker, Colorado, because she refused to sign an oath of loyalty to Colorado and the United States. The oath required her to swear that she would teach "reverence for law and order and undivided allegiance to the government of one country, the United States of America."

In her statement to the Superintendent of Schools Miss Woolf said she was unable to sign the oath because "in obedience to my conscience I cannot give my undivided allegiance to any government or man-made institution." She mentioned the COs who, in obedience to the inner voice of God, had refused to serve in the army, and said she was in sympathy with their point of view.

FOR OFFICE MOVING

At the end of December the FOR office at 2929 Broadway will move uptown to 21 Audubon Avenue, in Manhattan. The new location is convenient to subways and to the buses from New Jersey, and all the offices will be located conveniently on one floor, instead of on three, as they are now.

Indiana Law May Bar COs from Office

The Indiana Civil Defense Act, adopted by the Indiana General Assembly last spring, contains a clause which may bar COs from holding office in the state administration. The Act is evidently patterned after the civil defense plan made public by Defense Secretary Forrestal a year or so ago, and is intended to meet enemy attacks and emergencies such as fire, flood, tornado, and other catastrophes. The governor is authorized to create mobile defense units which can be sent to any stricken area.

The Act provides that "any officer or employe of the State of Indiana is by virtue of his employment subject to assignment to a mobile reserve battalion on a permanent basis in accordance with the plan organized under this act or on a temporary basis to meet particular need in the event of an emergency. Refusal to accept and perform the duties of any such assignment shall be grounds for dismissal from employment."

Many COs would be unable to agree to such a stipulation, if it is strictly interpreted. Other states may be passing such acts, as well as Indiana. Pacifists should be on the lookout for them and rally opinion against them while there is time.

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Letters

What Are We Doing?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There are several matters of concern in regard to the Fellowship and its work for peace which are on my mind and which I should like to bring to the membership as a whole.

First is the feeling that the Fellowship and its members are not doing enough, or at least doing it in the right way, to live up to their name and to prevent another frightful war.

The Fellowship is not doing anything to bring about reconciliation between Russia and the United States. That is difficult, of course, but the Friends have been carrying on such a project for the last year, and have made public their results with suggestions for constructive action, so it can be done.

True, the FOR tries to reconcile enemies after the war is over, as the leaflet *Behind the Iron Curtain* shows, but so do the nonpacifists. Church World Service and the World Council of Churches are examples. So what do we more than they?

Should we not also try to convert the Communists or at least to show love for them and to do some good to them, as Milton Mayer has urged? Are we afraid of being called Communists or fellow-travellers? Have we not enough faith or courage, either, for this task? It seems to this writer that it is time we demonstrate our pacifism, instead of merely preach it. We, too, need to be reminded that "with God all things are possible."

Are the members of the Fellowship doing all they can to support the program of the Fellowship, and to spread the pacifist message? Judging by my experience they are not. Year before last an attempt was made to organize FOR members in my county, of whom there were seventy-five, but without success. If pacifists will not cooperate with each other any better than this, how can we expect peoples so far apart and so different from each other as the Russians and the Americans to do so? Indeed the cause of peace seems almost hopeless because of pacifists themselves.

Today we belong to churches which profess faith in Christ but refuse to obey his commands and follow his teachings. Should we not also break away from such churches and form a new and pacifist church which would be loyal to Christ not only in relation to war but in the field of race relations, labor and the economic system?

CLARA E. WILSON
Bronxville, New York

The Spiritual Dilemma

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have followed with interest the discussion about tendencies away from the church among pacifists. I'd like to chime in along with Carl Landes against this trend.

The characteristic which our civilization has in common with all civilizations during decline is a general tendency to practice and preach self-indulgence as the highest good. Our success in life is measured by the number of "things" we possess. Gandhi's way of life was built on a search for absolute truth in principle

and practice, and proceeded by progressive vows of self-denial. Thus the two ways are opposites.

The greatest mistake made by the average pacifist is the belief that he can indulge himself personally in this fallacy of our time, based as it is on competition and social violence, and at the same time maintain nonviolence of spirit and action in social relationships. This is spiritually impossible.

"Then Jesus told his disciples, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.'" (Matthew 16:24.) Because of the unwillingness of people to deny themselves and live a hard life on principle in order to be free to follow Jesus, Christianity is morally weak and indecisive. The same unwillingness is doing the same thing to pacifism. So pacifism and the church are in the same boat.

Therefore, instead of pulling away from the church, pacifism should plunge into the church and seek to bring itself and the church back to our true spiritual heritage. In accomplishing this aim, Gandhi's way of living simply, according to absolute truth, by a process of progressive self-denial in all things which do not contribute to the main end in view, is the best guide we have. Let us turn our backs on the broad road of self-indulgence which leads to destruction and set our feet on the narrow path of self-denial and self-control that leads to salvation and abundant life.

Louis M. Adams
Carbon, Indiana

Forgotten Ally

The Editors,
Fellowship:

We Christian pacifists have been ignoring an ally who soon or late may be of crucial importance to our cause. We have a fifth column in the mind of the most militaristic. We castigate—and rightly—the military mind. But we forget, or neglect, the fact that no individual's mind is 100 percent military. And we treat the individual with a 90 percent military mind, or a 70 percent military mind, or a 51 percent military mind as though he had a 100 percent military mind. Why not try to focus our attention, our prayers, and our efforts on the 10 percent, 30 percent or 49 percent pacifist mind of the nonpacifist?

Our enemies employ that tactic. No pacifist will deny the militarist some telling arguments. We were pacifists *in spite of* Woodrow Wilson's high war ideals. We were pacifists *in spite of* real threats from fascism. We are pacifists *in spite of* real threats of Soviet imperialism and totalitarianism. We are only 90 percent, 70 percent, or 51 percent pacifists. And some former pacifists have passed over into the nonpacifist camp. Certainly none of them changed over because the militarists castigated them as 100 percent pacifists. Rather the militarists focused their attention on the 10 percent, the 30 percent or the 49 percent nonpacifism in these pacifists and built upon that until the percentage slid over, giving a margin to nonpacifism.

General Eisenhower didn't want to be a soldier. General Clay says that nobody wants war right now. Not to speak of officers of junior grade, drafted soldiers,

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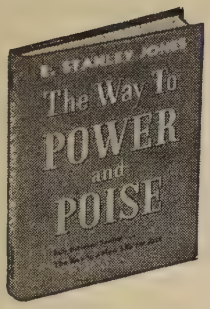

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frightened atomic scientists, and civilians.

Especially Christians. No Christian wants to kill his neighbor, nor to have somebody else do it for him. We may assume that every Christian nonpacifist has a tension over his nonpacifist position. If we have one over our pacifist position or over economic justice, how much more our Christian brothers who have not decided for Christian pacifism! Our whole strategy is wrong, if we attack them as unChristian. Our strategy is to build up each man's present minority percentage. We can do so through understanding and sympathy as well as by moral suasion and especially by moral and spiritual pressure, "white mail," *satyagraha*, forgiveness and sacrifice for them. Let us remember that Saul was "still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord" at the very time his subconscious was preparing him for a complete about-face. Sometimes those who shout most vociferously against pacifism are already subconsciously under conviction.

Let us not only strengthen our forces in our own camp; let us also, and especially, strengthen our fifth column in the nonpacifist camp. Perhaps we have come to the Kingdom for such a time as this!

EARL M. SMITH
Montevideo, Uruguay

Letter from Japan

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Even though I have not met you and we are separated from each other geographically I am glad to have a chance to write to you because I feel that we are one in our Lord and working together unseen hand-in-hand for exactly the same aim: Peace in the world as a whole.

We believe that understanding among people, especially between those of two great nations which are now considered as having opposite interests, can be achieved in the feeling of humility before our Lord who did teach us "Love one another" and did sacrifice himself for that ideal.

We members of FOR in Japan want to offer our humble but whole efforts as well as we can to settle disputes of every kind, from tiny ones among ourselves to more serious ones in the international field, and we are very glad to know many people are there, young and old, western and eastern in the world, who have the same thoughts and minds and the will for Peace.

HIROSHI SAKAMOTO
Secretary Tokyo FOR
Tokyo, Japan

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LAST CALL!

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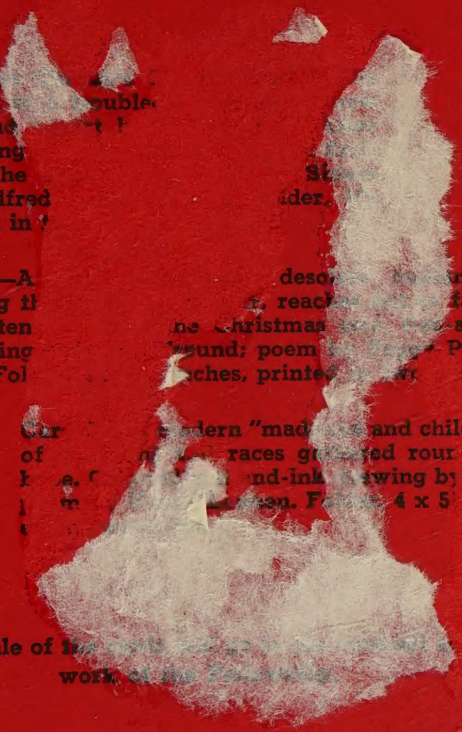

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